

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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FOLLOWING REPEAT LISBON 5162 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BERN
BELGRADE BONN BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN DUBLIN HELSINKI
LONDON MADRID MOSCOW OSLO PARIS ROME STOCKHOLM THE HAGUE
NATO USUN NEW YORK VIENNA DIA WASHDC CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS 4 SEPT 75.

QUOTE

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TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJECT: MARIO SOARES PROPOSES GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL SALVATION

REF: LISBON 5128 DTG 031646Z SEP 75 NOTAL

SUMMARY: IN AN IMPORTANT POLICY STATEMENT SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER
MARIO SOARES CALLED FOR A GOVERNMENT OF UNITY AND NATIONAL
SALVATION TO BE FORMED BY THE SOCIALISTS, PPD, AND PCP, WITH
PARTICIPATION OF CIVILIAN AND MILITARY INDEPENDENTS. OARES
REJECTED THE PROPOSED APPOINTMENT OF EX-PRIME MINISTER VASCO
GONCALVES AS CHIEF OF STAFF OF ARMED FORCES AND DESCRIBED HOW
THE PCP HAS USED GONCALVES AND THE AFM IN ITS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE
"TOTALITARIAN SOCIALISM." TEN EMERGENCY MEASURES WERE LISTED WHICH

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ARE "INDISPENSIBLE" FOR SOCIALIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT.
END SUMMARY

1. SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER MARIO SOARES PUBLISHED ON SEPTEMBER 3

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE SOCIALISTS WOULD AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN A NEW "GOVERNMENT OF UNITY AND NATIONAL SALVATION." THE EMBASSY CONSIDERS THE SOARES STATEMENT TO BE AN IMPORTANT PROPOSAL BASED ON A REMARKABLY DISPASSIONATE AND OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT. HIGH POINTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

-- SOARES LETTER IS IN RESPONSE TO CONVERSATIONS WITH PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES AND AN INVITATION BY PRIME MINISTER (DESIGNATE) PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO TO PARTICIPATE IN SIXTH PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD BE "PREDOMINATELY SOCIALIST."

-- SOCIALISTS CLAIM CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS AROSE BECAUSE OF DEVIATIONS FROM THE ORIGINAL PROGRAM SET FORTH BY THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT (AFM), AND FROM THE AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN THE AFM AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES. BOTH DOCUMENTS CALLED FOR A DEMOCRATIC, PLURALISTIC ROAD TOWARD SOCIALISM.

-- HOWEVER, ONE FACTION OF AFM, MANIPULATED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP), ATTEMPTED TO IMPOSE TOTALITARIAN SOCIALISM BY THE ACTIONS OF A PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD, THUS IGNORING THE POPULAR WILL AS EXPRESSED IN FREE ELECTIONS. INITIALLY UNDER COVER OF THE APOLITICAL AFM, THIS PCP FACTION TOOK OVER THE STATE-OWNED INFORMATION MEDIA, INFILTRATED THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY, TOOK THE KEY POSITIONS IN NATIONALIZED INDUSTRIES, AGRARIAN REFORM, LOCAL GOVERNMENT, THE INFORMATION MEDIA, AND ATTEMPTED TO DOMINATE THE LABOR UNIONS.

-- IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THERE IS RESENTMENT BY SUPPORTERS OF THE MAJORITY PARTIES (WHO RECEIVED 70 PERCENT OF THE VOTE) AGAINST THE DOMINATION OF POWER BY PCP (12.5 PERCENT).

-- PORTUGUESE PEOPLE WILL NOT ACCEPT A COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIP. EITHER SOME FORM OF PLURALISTIC COMPROMIS IS FOUND (WITH PCP HAVING NO MORE THAN ITS PROPORTIONAL SHARE) OR ELSE THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION IN VULNERABLE TO ATTACKS BY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS.

-- VASCO GONCALVES AND HIS SUPPORTING ELEMENTS (J-5, MDP/CDE, INTERSINDICAL, MES) SYMBOLIZE THE COMMUNIST ADVANCE. FOR THIS REASON THE SOCIALIST PARTY BELIEVED IT ESSENTIAL THAT PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES BE OUSTED. HIS APPOINTMENT AS CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE ARMED FORCES WOULD ONLY AGGRAVATE THE CRISIS, NOT RESOLVE IT. HE WAS DIVISIVE AS PRIME MINISTER BUT WOULD BE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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MORE SO AS CHIEF OF STAFF, AS IS EVIDENT BY OPPOSITION TO HIS APPOINTMENT FROM THE AIR FORCE, THE OFFSHORE ISLANDS, THE AFM IN ANGOLA, AND THE CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN MILITARY COMMANDS. HE LACKS THE MILITARY QUALIFICATIONS. FURTHER, GONCALVES WOULD GAIN IN POWER AT THE EXPENSE OF PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES (WHO NOW HOLDS THE DUAL FUNCTION AS CHIEF OF STAFF).

-- THE ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE IS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GOVERNMENT THAT CAN GOVERN. CIVIL POLER NEEDS THE SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY BUT THE AFM IS SO DISORGANIZED THAT EACH OF MANY GROUPS CLAIM TO SPEAK FOR ARMED FORCES. PRIME MINISTER PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO COULD LEAD A HISTORIC TURN-AROUND WHICH IMPLIES THE TOTAL REPLACEMENT OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

-- THE SOCIALISTS PROPOSE A GOVERNMENT OF UNITY AND NATIONAL SALVATION BASED ON AN UNDERSTANDING AMONG DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, WITH A ROLE FOR THE PCP IF IT RENOUNCES ITS EFFORTS TO OBTAIN POWER BY FORCE. THE SOCIALIST PARTY DOES NOT SEEK A PREDOMINANT ROLE. THE PROPOSED GOVERNMENT WOULD INCLUDE PS, PDD, PCP, AS WELL AS CIVILIAN AND MILITARY INDEPENDENTS.

-- MOST IMPORTANTLY, THERE MUST BE A DISTINCTION MADE BETWEEN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY RESPONSIBILITIES, WITH THE GOVERNMENT BEING ALLOWED TO GOVERN WITHOUT UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCE BY THE AFM.

2. SOARES ALSO PROPOSES TEN "SEEMINGLY INDISPENSIBLE" EMERGENCY MEASURES OF WHICH THE FOLLOWING ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT:

(A) ASSURE THE POLITICAL PLURALISM OF STATE-OWNED MEDIA AND ADMINISTRATIVE BODIES.

(B) REAFFIRM THE AUTHORITY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, ASSURING THAT ONCE CONSTITUTION IS APPROVED THAT ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD WITHIN 60 DAYS TO CHOOSE A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, AND THAT THE ASSEMBLY WILL CREATE A GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBLE TO IT.

(C) FIX DATE FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS NO LATER THAN JANUARY 31, 1976.

(D) WORKERS COMMISSIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS SHOULD NOT CONSTITUTE A PARALLEL POWER STRUCTURE AND SHOULD ASSURE MEMBERS' RIGHT OF SECRET VOTE.

(E) ARMED MILITIAS SHOULD BE ELIMINATED WITHIN 30 DAYS.

(F) TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY.

3. SOARES STATEMENT EMPHASIZED THAT THE SOCIALISTS ARE NOT ATTEMPTING TO BRAKE THE REVOLUTION NOR RE-ESTABLISH CAPITALISM
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THROUGH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS. RATHER, IT IS AN EFFORT TO CONSOLIDATE REVOLUTIONARY CONQUESTS - PRINCIPALLY THE BUSINESS NATIONALIZATIONS AND AGRARIAN REFORM - WHILE AVOIDING "STATE CAPITALISM" (E.E., COMMUNISM).
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